1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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881
[737]

oo 'mungen, o e-rap, o en-gila, o el-kipise.

stomach of a goat, the head-dress of ostrich feathers[1], and the cape of vultures' feathers, the anklets of colobus-monkey skin, the arm-clamp, the garment of calf-skin, and the piece of goat's skin fastened to the waist.

Ore p' eidipayu 'ng-oloŋgi eŋgwan, nepwei aariku aŋg kulikae-móruak kituak.

When the four days have elapsed, some of the elders will bring him back to the [illegible]

881

Neitashŧyaki te-kutuk-aji e-'ng-aji natii 'n-opa-aishi naatomukaki.

He has arrived by the door of the hut where the honey-wine, which has previously been prepared, is kept.

Nŧjóki el-móruo ŏbo lido-ŏpoloe e-aita: 'Inno, kitoo.'

One elder then says to him who is passing the fence: 'Go, become an old-man.'

Nŧjo lido-ŏpoloe e-aita: 'Ih! malo, e-ŋgikitoi!'

The latter replies: 'Ho! I shall not . . . !'

Nŧjókini kat'-are: 'Inno kitoo dashi.' Nŧjo el-ŏpoloe e-aita: 'Malo dashi.'

The order is repeated, but he still refuses.

Ore pe ejókini kat'-eŋgwan, are pe ebau en-e-imyet, nŧjo el-ŏpoloe e-aita: 'Ih! nabómo naa.'

On being told for the fifth time, he says: 'Ho! I have gone then.'

Ore pe ejiŋg aji, nelakuni nakwa-tŏkitin, nŧóki taa 'n-aishi, neiteri ilpotiye eng-erua e-'n-guroi enye, eajo: Menye-ŋgunia.

He then enters the hut and puts aside the warrior's paraphernalia; the honey-wine is drunk; and he is called by his son's name, thus: The father of so-and-so.

[351]

Neirukisho: 'Oo.' Nŧjókini: 'Tabarishore.'

When he replies to this name, he is told to go and make a profit.

Nŧjo ninye: 'N-gishu oo 'n-dare.'

He answers: 'Herds and flocks.'

Ore pe eji nŧjo kat'-eŋgwan, neidipayu.

This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over.

[1] Sometimes instead of the ostrich feather head-dress one made of lion's or leopard's skin is worn, and occasionally the head-dress called el-murenguak is substituted. This head-dress is worn by the warriors when they slaughter cattle in the woods.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Neeli 'l-kilani le-'ŋgorōyōni, neishop, neishori en-ɲukuri naripakino 'eeghera 'matwan pōkin. Neitanapi eng-orioŋg, neriki eng-aŋg o-'l-mōruo lenye, nerubare ol-mōruo, oo 'l-tuŋgunak aare 'l-chorueta lenyena, oo 'n-gitunk are e-'ng-aŋg e-'ŋgorōyōni.

Nemesiōyo, erikitoi elo akiti oo metabai. Ore pe ebaiki, neishori en-gerai, neitōti.

Ten eiyam ol-mōruo e-ŋgorōyōni, nemeipot eng-arna enye, amu torono. Eduŋgiki se-arna. Enyor naleŋg aipotye eng-arna o-'l-poror lenye, anaa 'N-oo-'Seure.

Ten eata ol-tuŋguni oo-'l-Maasae 'n-giahu kumok, neidim eiyama 'ŋgorōyok kumok. Etii kulikae ooiyam 'ŋgorōyok are, ana uni, ana oŋgwan; kake eiyam il-karsisi, ten eiyōu, temon ana tigitūm.

Ten eiyam ol-Maasani kat'-are araki kat'-uni, neisho en-gitok enye eng-aini ol-asho, naa ninye eimalye eng-aini ajo Pasaho.

Meidim il-Maasae iiyama 'ŋgorōyok e-'ng-aji enye ten etoni to-'l-asho tho, kake eidim iiyama 'ŋgorōyok e-'n-giahūni enye, neidim iiyama 'ŋgorōyok e-'ng-ae-kiahūni.

After the bride's wedding-garments have been oiled, she puts them on, and is given a gourd which has been ornamented with cowries. This is put on her back, and she is taken by her husband, who is accompanied by two of his friends and two of the old women from his bride's kraal, to her future home. 585

She does not hurry but walks very slowly until she reaches her husband's kraal, where a child is given her to feed.

When a man marries, it is considered unlucky if he calls his wife by her name. He must give her another name. A favourite method is to call her by the age to which she belongs, thus, The (woman) of the Seure age. 551 593 777 [561]

If a Masai owns large herds of cattle he is able to marry many wives. Some have two wives, others three, and others four; whilst if rich men wish, they may have as many as ten or twenty. 595

When a Masai marries for the second or third time, his first wife gives the new wife a calf, after which they call one another Pasaho, i. e. the giver and receiver of a calf. 595 431

No Masai may marry a woman belonging to the same sub-division as himself if both families live in the same district, but he may marry a woman of his own clan or one belonging to another clan. 582

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Kitala.

593 Ten tar il-Masaae 'Ngurtyok enye, etii nasewo kitala, netii naafgiri, nemepwo.

Ten tar el-mdrno e-ngurtytai, neipiri alo kitala, naa ten nemo kitok-itiki eitaruoiye, nelo eng-aji o-l-poror lo-l-mdrno lenye.

Ore pe eriku lido idye-ngurtytai naabtmo kitala, nemeittiki el-openy aar, anu [626] ture lito-tafigani lo-l-poror lenye medak.

Naa, ten eitaruo e-ngurtytai en-dtiki kitok, p' eiytiito ajo tari, nelo eng-afg e-menye, neiaburi en-gitafg naitto [731] e-ngurtytai aaiye el-mdrno lenye.

The refuge[1].

If the Masai men beat their wives, some go and seek refuge elsewhere, whilst others suffer and stop at home.

Should a husband beat his wife, but not badly, she will seek refuge in the house of a member of her husband's age.

When the man with whom she has taken refuge returns her to her owner, the latter does not beat her again, for he fears that he will be cursed by the members of his age.

If a woman commits a serious crime, and knows that she will be beaten in consequence, she goes to her father's kraal, and is given an ox, which she takes to her husband and begs forgiveness.

En-gita.

764 55 Ten ta el-tafigani lo-l-Maasa, neiturusri ten a en-gurai, arnki el-murrani, arnki e-ngurtytai; nenuki eng-arua loo-l-tafiguak lenye.

Ore ten etii en-dtiki neipotyaki inna-arua, neiaburi ee-arua nemeeyikita en-e-'ldo ltua.

Ore ten ta el-tafigani oti ng Ol-tuaua, neneipat te-'ng-afg e-menye en-nanai anu

Death.

On the death of a child, or a warrior, or a woman amongst the Masai, the body is thrown away[2], and the person's name is buried, i.e. it is never again mentioned by the family.

Should there be anything which is called by that name, it is given another name which is not like that of the deceased.

For instance, if an unimportant person called Ol-tuaua (he who is soft, or weak, or gentle) were to die,

[526] [1] Divorce appears to be unknown amongst the Masai.

[2] The body is always taken to the west of the kraal, towards the setting sun. It is laid on the left side with the head towards the north, so that the face looks towards the east. The legs are drawn up to the chest, the left hand supports the head, and the right arm is [illegible] across the breast.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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'l-meneligo, nedaligtkiek-enanai as-arua, ejo epolpol.

Ore ten elkilikwan el-tuiguni 'l-omon lo-'l-oiboni kitok, nemeipot Ol-onana, ntjo Ol-epolpol.

Ore el-paiyan kitok ôata 'n-gera ten ôk, nemenuki eng-arua enye amu eimany in-gera enyena.

Ten ôk el-paiyan kitok aruki e-figuretyôni kitok, nemeishirukitini, nemeiturusari ninye anaa kulikae-tuiguanak oti.

Eborukitini 'n-emugha figojuke, ntyuligi el-karr, nebilioni e-ilata, nemilki e-mmm pikin.

Nedumuni ôiya, nepiki en-netii el-oip nidai, ntyuligi el-kitulig te-inne, neinosi 'n-giri pikin. Nuligwari 'l-olk pe etum il-figojinia ôilguai pe epwtun nadumaa el-meneligani ôinos.

Ten ôk 'l-oibonok loo-'l-Maasae aruki 'l-kuraini, meiturari, kake tyuligi en-gitulig aruki en-garr, nelianni e-ilata, nemli lido-ôtua. Ore y' oilipi, nepiki atwa el-ekitai, te'yai e-wuji netii el-oip, neturusi en-giti-kumoto ntjo en-bolt, nepiki, nemukari loo-'natia. Nuji inne-wuji

gentleness would not be called enanai in that kraal, as it is the name of a corpse, but it would be called by another name, such as epolpol (it is smooth). NCA 551

And if anybody of that kraal were to ask for news of the great medicine-man Ol-onana[1], he would call him Ol-epolpol.

If an elder dies leaving children, his name is not buried, for his descendants are named after him.

When old men or women die, they are not wept for, nor are they thrown away like others who die young. NCA [888]

New sandals are made, a sheep is slaughtered, the fat is roasted, and the body anointed.

After this the corpse is carried to a shady place, where a bullock is slaughtered, and all the meat is eaten on the spot. The bones of the bullock are left with the body so that the hyenas may smell it, and come and carry it away, and devour it.

On the death of a Masai medicine-man or rich person the corpse is not thrown away. An ox or a sheep is slaughtered, and the fat is taken and rubbed on the body, after which it is put in an ox-hide and carried to a shady spot. A small hole is then dug resembling a trench, into which the body is laid and covered with stones. This is called a grave.

[1] Commonly called by Europeans Lenana.

964 en-gurare. Ore ten ake pikitaligani inne, nepik o-mit, naikitai ntje too-'l-aria pikin.

•531 Ten ee ang-oytai en-'l-Masasa, are y' ele Ngutunye na-kerai, nawaya en-gisk o-[304] 'nna-kerai, ntji Nawaya.

Ore pe-ilnin, ntji Ol-dware.

304 Tani nawayi en-guroi en-
307 gisk, naisiny en-daret o
858 el-gine too-'l-kintjine la-'n-gejo.

Whenever anybody passes this spot he throws a stone on to the heap, and this is done for all time.

If a Masai woman gives birth to a boy after the death of one of her sons, a small piece is cut off the ear of the newly-born babe and he is called Nawaya, i.e. from whom it has been snatched.

When the child grows up his name is changed to Ol-dware, which has the same meaning.

Sometimes children's ears are not cut, in which case they wear a special kind of bracelet, called En-daret, and a ring on one of their toes[1].

En-kyerete. Mourning.

965 Ten ee el-mirua too-'l-Masasa ilata 'n-gwa en 'Ngutuk, nepuroo el-marai pikin.

When a father of a family dies, the whole family mourns for him.

Naitoo 'Ngutuk i-murutye, oo 'nghanga oo-'murta, oo 'nmoitani; naitoo ali 'n-doiye 'nmoitani, oo 'l-piaye, oo [305] 'nghanga oo-'n-gejak oo 'n-oo-'ng-aik; naboro il-murua oo 'l-eyuk il-papit.

His widows lay aside their earrings, necklaces, and beads; his daughters leave off their chains, beads, armlets, and anklets; and his warrior sons and boys shave their heads.

Natoni 'Ngutuk el-ari tim, naitiki ilpiny in-dikitin enye.

His wives wait for a whole year before they put on their ornaments again.

Ene, too ee kwilisa-tuiguenak, naitoo 'Ngutuk o-'l-marai 'n-dikitin naasta too-'murta, kake nooe pikin, epoli nghanga oo 'murutye; natoni el-epa tim. [306] Naboro ali 'l-iowa 'l-inginye.

If any other person dies, the women of the family leave off their small neck ornaments but not the iron rings or the ear-rings, and the men shave their heads. The mourning lasts for one month.

[1] The second toe of the right foot.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Ten elgumaki 'n-gwe kutiti 'l-tukgenak tumti naidig, nenetaki 'ng-eneitak il-tumti, ntjiki: 'Kikitajeje eng-ái.'

Nas, ten elgumaki 'l-enerwa il-tukgenak kitunk, nenetaki kulikw-kitunk ing-eneitak ing-aik.

Nas, ten aisi el-Masumai en-dikí naita ae-ainig aisi, nesa el-akire ditye, nenetaa 'ng-eneitak, ntje: 'Tauke! imjáre 'l-tukgení!' ntje ai: 'Tsiakwaki.'

Ore ai ten ntiktae, naipat il-nanidge arukí eng-erwa e'l-tukgení tina, nenetaa 'ng-eneitak. Ore ai ten naitg il-enere torok injere eiwa el-tukgení tje, nenetaa 'ng-eneitak, ntje: 'Tauke, eng-ái, mikiteta 'n-gijwa.'

Ore ji' elter ang-wetwa 'l-kinongwe kunna-k-wogi, pe aisi il-Masuna, nenetaa 'ng-eneitak, ewe ntje: 'Kita kitái il-tukgenak nesa kulio.' Ntji ai: 'I-aikunk kitunk kulio-tukgenak.' Ore pe ayik el-kinongwi el-tukgení el-chani, ntjiki el-tukgení: 'Tauetakaki 'ng-eneitak ji' aikitio.' Ntji eng-erwa 'l-Ojeje nesa naia 'l-pepit kunnak.

If small children salute very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and grey hairs like mine!'

Then, when warriors greet old men[2], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no cows.'

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them mallakwa-nam, and if a European gave a Masai medicine, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'l-Ojeje owing to their being hairy.

[1] Vide p. 285.

[2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (fathers or grandfathers) to take children's hands between their knees and spit slightly on them to bless them (Missionvicinus, *Die Sprache der Bari*, p. xvi).

[3] Vide p. 284.

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child was two [553]
almost a small ram is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the committed woman. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named is (or was) good looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but [551]
after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named one of his own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'"

Tooth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk teeth the [304]
two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, [310]
which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this [312]
practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, [311]
water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed.

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the lobes of the ears pierced. Ears are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their [324]
early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants.

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, [291]
and the boys have small sporrans made for them.

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted [262]
to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown.

Part II.—Between.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the [197]
number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to start preparing for initiation.

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it [314]
is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon [313]
as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they [309]
like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they [306]
observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan,

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Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the E-U'nate, and do not usually do so till after their first O-Ki'aloo. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice.

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (see p. 302) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle.

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women.

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back.

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister.

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names.

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Mawi*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. *Korrotiakuna*, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Masainé sinet*, he is proud of the fact.

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyænas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones.

[1] See p. 000 of this volume.

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In the first descending generation, the word *en-kerai*, "child," may be applied to son, daughter, brother's son and daughter, and father's brother's son's son and daughter, or they may be distinguished as *ment. ol-opiroi*, "boy," and *fem. en-kito*, "girl." Father's brother's daughter's son is *ol-opuloni*, and father's brother's daughter's daughter *en-e-notua*, the latter term applying also to father's sister's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's son's daughter. The term *o-le-notua* is applied to the mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's daughter's son, and father's sister's daughter's son. *O-le-ak-aju* is applied to the sons of father's sister's son and mother's brother's son, and *en-e-ak-aju* to their daughters. In this generation there are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's daughter. 601

In the second descending generation, *ol-alosi* includes the sons of a man's own son and daughter, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, father's brother's son's daughter; while *esh-alosi* is applied to their daughters. Father's brother's daughter's son's son is *ol-opuloni*, and the daughter is *en-e-notua*. The term *o-le-ak-aju* covers son's son, and the sons of sister's son, father's sister's son's son, and mother's brother's son's son; their daughters are *en-e-ak-aju*. *O-le-notua* includes the sons of sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter, father's sister's daughter's son, father's sister's son's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter, mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's son's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's son; *en-e-ak-aju* is applied to the daughters. There are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter's son and daughter, or for mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter.

Among affines, the term *ol-opuloni* is applied to wife's father, wife's father's brother, and wife's brother, but their wives are *esh-opuloni*, *en-e-notua*, and *en-e-notua* respectively. Son and grandson of wife's brother are also *ol-opuloni*. Wife's sister is *e-sindani e-anyei*, and all children and grandchildren of wife's brother and sister (except wife's brother's son and grandson) are *e-notua*. The majority of affinal terms are in fact of the *e-notua* category. Husband is *ol-murrao* or *ol-payian*, wife *e-gerooyioni* or *en-kitok*; junior wife is *esh-aisi*.

These kinship terms, however, are not very much used, for it is the custom of the Masai to call each other by cattle-names: members of a domestic group give each other cattle on various occasions, and thereafter the word denoting the kind of animal given is used as the equivalent of a reciprocal relative term; the animal name is prefixed by *pa*, meaning "giver or receiver of." Thus, a father usually gives his son a bull when he is about 10 years old, and they then call each other *pa-roponi*, "giver (receiver) of a bull" instead of *papa* and *le-yioni*. An elder brother will give a younger brother a heifer, and they will then be *pa-e-lenwa* (heifer) to each other. Paternal cousins often call each other *pa-murogok* (ram). 551

Among these relatives, the mother's brother has great power and influence over his sister's son. He can give him orders, which must be obeyed, and he may take what he wants from his nephew, who has also the right to take what he wants from his uncle. Refusal to obey the mother's brother can be punished by cursing, but this is not reciprocal. Behaviour patterns are based on seniority and the claims of kinship, and are expressed in the avoidance of bad language and unseemly actions, and the observance of formality between certain persons. There is avoidance between a man and his wife's mother, and between a man and his full brother's wife, though not between him and his half-brother's wife. The formality of greetings helps to preserve the respect for elderhood. 684 689 606 607 685

Pre-marital Sex-life

A man's sex-life begins when he has been circumcised; a girl's when she reaches puberty. Pre-marital relations are more formalized than among the Nandi, since the unmarried warriors of a local company, *sirit*, live in a barrack, *e-manyata*, with their mothers, some of their sisters, and their girl lovers, *e-nanca*, each man having his own lover. The rules which regulate marriage apply in the selection of a lover. 836

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

953 and these old men. If it has not previously received a name, it may have been
852 called by the name of its father's father; but at the naming ceremony it receives a
name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative.
551 People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities.
There is much uncertainty about Masai names; but every man has a personal,
consisting of *O-le,* " son of," preceding his father's name; this he appears to assume
after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as *E-se,* " daughter
of," preceding their fathers' name. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new
name. The practice of teknonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of
his eldest son, a man becomes known as " the father of " *Ol-arán-an,* i.e., if his son is
called Senden, he becomes Menye Senden; his wife similarly becomes Ooto Senden,
the mother of Senden.

951 The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the
44 name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a
man called *Ol-mesua,* " the gentle one," died, on his death the word *mesua* would
be replaced in his family by some such word as *pulpul,* " smooth."

Circumcision (E-marata)

891 Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and
304 the circumcision period is " open " for about four years. Though the operation may
be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of those circum-
[70] cised at the same time throughout Masailand forms an associating group corresponding in some degree to the Nandi *mot* (see pp. 31 and 46). Judging by the published accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among the Nandi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called *en-pukuata e-nito,* " the passing of the knee." After making honey-wine, he stays alone in a small hut outside his kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some elders bring him back to his kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes and become an old man. His son may then be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate; in the afternoon after this has been done an ox or sheep is killed and eaten by the warriors and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy eats a tree called at this time *e-dalua,*[*] which the girls of the kraal carry to the door of the hut [in which the boy sleeps?], where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early [130] and sits outside to get cold; after sunrise he is circumcised, the operator being often a Dorobo. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes out, shooting with blunted arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds [191 which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered; 212] during this time he is known as *e-ngwáni* and wears the dress of a married woman, including the *e-sarata ee-tingo,* and an ostrich-feather on his head. After recovery he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *el-kerait,* " the shaved one," i.e., a junior warrior. Till his kraal company forms its *manyata,* he lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There are no special times for this. An ox or sheep is killed before the operation. During the period of recovery they are known as *e-ngwáni,* and wear on their heads a wreath of the *Hyphaene* palm, *el-merisiaa,* or of grass, instead of an ostrich feather.

Age-sets

564 Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Nandi division, those of the Masai are of linear type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1854), Hollis (1905), and Dundas (1908), as well as from the Tavetta age-sets (Hollis, 1901), that some at least of the names are fixed and recur. In 1939 the names [illegible]

[illegible]

* *Erythrina tomentosa*; normally *esh-il-il-ishili.*

601 /41 cont./

The grandfather designates the grandson as ng ebeje.

/42/ The grandmother designates the grandson as ng gerai ng gerai ng, that is, *child of my child*.

Father-in-law: ng ebedesi le.

Mother-in-law: ang ebedesi ng.

Brother of wife: ng ebedesi or ng alaechs le 'ngerejesi.

Sister of wife: ng ridesi ng or ang sesechs a ngerejesi ng.

Wife of one's brother: a' ngerejesi ng alaechs le.

Wife of the half brother: ng ridesi ng.

Different cases of these designations are terms of address among relatives, with the exception of the case for father and mother, who are addressed as babs or ilje. Most terms of address by far are formed from names for animal species: if one has given the one concerned a gift of a bull, one calls him b-ridesi, from ng ridesi, the bull; after the gift of an ox or a cow, ba-'gerak or ba-'gierik (ng gerak, the ox; ng gerak, the cow; 'ngierik, the meat); of a heifer, ba-'s dasu (from ng dasu); of a calf, ba-sebe or ba-be (from ng or ang sebe); for a donkey, ba-sigiria (ng sigiria, the donkey); for a male calf, ba-mesisi; for a buck goat or sheep, ba-merogesch; for a mother sheep, ba-ger; for a she-goat or sheep, ba-sdasu; for a she-goat, ba-gisu; for a female sheep or female goat that has not yet had young, ba-sebes; for a kid or lamb, ba-lelo; for twin lambs or kids, ba-mesu (1).

1. ng mesu, the twin.

551 976 (601) With all these designations may be addressed the brother by the brother, the half brother by the half brother, and -- if the one addressing and the one addressed are the same age -- the father's brother, the son of the father's brother, the son of the father's sister, the son of the mother's brother, the son of the mother's sister, the son of the brother, the son of the sister. Male individuals who are close friends and the same age also use these terms of address, as soon as they have given each other the first head of livestock. The later gift of a head of livestock of another kind does not alter the form of address.

/42 cont./

601 (431) (551) As soon as the man marries another woman, each of his children present her with a head of small livestock and call her accordingly, ba-ger, ba-gine, ba-nâre, ba-suben, or ba-lelo. The term of address for father-in-law is always ba-geteñ, for mother-in-law, ba-ger.

Brother and sister call the sister and half sister en gîjo. Brother and sister call the brother and half brother eñilo. The form of address for the father's brother, baba; the mother's brother, abula; the sister of the father and of the mother, loko. The brother of another wife of the father is addressed as baba, if he is old; by his name if he is younger. The sister of another wife of the father is called loko if she is old; en akitok if she is younger. The latter (pl. 'n akitwa) is also the term of address on the part of /42/ unmarried men for a woman in general. The uncle calls the nephew abula, the niece 'n gabulâlja. The aunt calls both en garai ai : my child.

601 605 For the terms of address of those relatives whom we designate as male and female cousins in the narrower and broader sense I was able to construct the following rules from a very large number of examples:

1. If the relationship is derived from the mother's father or from the husband of the father's sister through consanguinity or relationship by marriage, the boy calls his male cousin abula, boy and girl call the female cousin en gîjo before her circumcision and 'n gabulâlja afterwards. The same designations are customary for (friendly) members of the lineage of the mother and of the husband of the father's sister.

2. If the relationship is based on consanguinity through the father's brothers or on membership in the same lineage, the male cousin will be called arabá by a boy, the female cousin 'n ôlba by boy and girl, both before and after her circumcision.

The girl calls any boy standing in a cousin relationship to her, according to one of the two rules, ol aishâ 'ñy ai : the one given (me) by God.

/43 cont./

601 605 [431] The designations abula, en gijo, arabá, and 'n gîba are used only as long as the above-mentioned terms of address are not affected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address ol aiche 'Ng ai, because the girl is not in a position to make the necessary gift of livestock.

601 The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with na gerai ai = my child. The address for the grandfather runs ng akuja, for the grandmother baba. The grandfather calls the grandson ng aku['ai] the granddaughter, baba ai. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are called by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations. [431] [651]

IV.

600 Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

581 The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their sedentary Negro neighbors. As among the latter -- and, to be sure, without exception (1) -- 595 [971]

1. The so-called monogamy of the Wambugwe is in practice the boldest polygyny.

polygyny prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason. 581 There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a [583] more stable relationship. The woman through the marriage passes [618] into the family of her /44/ husband, but not into his lineage; rather she retains membership in her own lineage.

/44 cont./

582 for the contemplative idleness of the married man. But before the
583 marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid first.

As bride price (en dogitin = the things, each part of them, en dogi = the thing) he first pays the bride's father five pots of honey from which beer will be brewed, furthermore three cows and an ox. The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The ox and the male sheep will be eaten at the feast taking place on the wedding day. Around that day, more often afterwards than before, [601] [561] the /45/ bridegroom further brings the father-in-law a cow and the mother-in-law a female sheep that has not yet had young, whereupon the former call each other ba-geteń (1).

1. *Cf.* Second Part, III, terms of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law call each other ba-ger
585 from now on. Every wife married later receives at the wedding
[575] from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon
[481] the two call each other b'-asche, from the eldest child of her hus-
[551] band two goats or sheep, hence the address ba-ndare, and from the
[601] smaller children of four to six years old and upward a goat or a sheep each, through which the address ba-gine, ba-suben, or ba-
583 ilo is brought about. During the period immediately after the wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several more pots of honey, skins for clothing, and iron wire for making
[791] leg and arm ornaments. In the family of Chief Zendeo he receives, as he told me, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters, while the mother of the girl gets two donkeys, a bull and a cow with calf. Since the last rinderpest it has happened not infrequently that a man is not in a position to pay the customary bride price. He then gives the father-in-law only one cow and leads her to him on a rope twisted out of grass. Whereas the bridegroom or young married man delivers the gifts of livestock himself, he always sends the honey by a woman. She is either a wife married previously, his mother, his older sister, or a wife of his brother. Only when the distance is very great does he deliver the honey himself,

/55 cont./

VI.

000 Names -- Male and female names. -- Meaning of the names. -- Giving names to male individuals, festivities, examples of names. -- Giving names to female individuals, festivities, examples of names.

• 551 A great part of the names used today is of ancient origin. Some brave warrior or an esteemed man, whom perhaps an old man has known or who lives on only in tales, had a certain name, which is then given again and again to children or adults. Its meaning is not known, perhaps that hero was also named after another, without anyone's knowing an explanation for the meaning and origin of the name. Other names are derived from origin, descent, experiences, -- physical or character traits, trees, etc., or signify flattery or, finally, refer to personal favorites in food, clothing, ornaments, and weapons. In these names, too, the attachment to the old can be recognized, since the designations from which they are formed are often no longer used today at all and also are only little known. Male and female names are known, and others are given in unaltered form to both sexes. The names of more generally well-known, older men are also /56/ feminized by prefixing the syllable en or eng. When parents use the names of their children who are at a young age, they add to the male name lai, to the female one ai, that is, my. Deceased persons who left no descendants are not mentioned by name, but rather one says: the deceased son or the deceased daughter of N.

[732] There are no special names for twins. A child born with extra fingers or toes is often given the name Nogimojik. If one asks anyone his name, he usually looks away and lets another one standing beside him answer.

553 Usually before a boy's upper incisors come through, but at this time at the latest, his mother chooses a name. The day of this name-giving is often -- not always -- celebrated with a festival, the ol geteñ l en daminu, to which the married men and women among the relatives are invited and are regaled with beef and honey beer. For

[302] the festival the child's head is shaved for the first time, as is the mother's for the first time after her confinement. The hair of both is placed under the latter's sleeping place. Toward three o'clock in the

/56 cont./

553 afternoon the festive company sits down in a circle under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, half of it made up of the men and the other half of women. The infant to be baptized sits on the lap of its mother, who, along with the other women, is still deliberating over the choice of a name. A neighbor suggests that they should name the boy ol gorog, that is, the short one, because he is still quite short for his age, whereas another reminds them of the joy that the mother had when she found an ostrich egg on the steppe a few days before her delivery, and opines that they might give the little one the name Mosorik (from e'-mosorik = the egg). After the women have been chatting back and forth in this manner for a while, amid laughter, an older brother of the woman (1)

1. That it is he who does this, and not the husband, is probably to be understood as a survival from matriarchal times, and likewise that the mother, not the father, gives the first name.

gets up and asks her what the child should now be called. She [551] mentions the name Ol loñgiechu = cattle owner (2),

2. Obsolete in this meaning: the name Ol oñgiechu now means that its bearer, for the price of a head of cattle, had his freedom purchased from the slave state into which he had fallen as a result of a cattle epidemic and famine.

which the old one immediately announces to the gathering, whereupon the latter give a cheer for the "baptized" infant and cry out "dabe riechuri ñ giechu a daré (acquire cattle and small livestock). Then the mother hangs a chain of large and small beads (e ngerai, ngerai e gaitagi, gaitagi) around the little one's neck. Now the entire company stands up and moves in single file toward the entrance of the kraal. Here lie the thorny branches that are pulled into the enclosure at night to shut up the kraal. They are danced around with short,

[535] [553] [562]

/57 cont./

553 lacking such, some older man of her lineage or tribe, gives it to him. The festival that is celebrated in this connection is very similar to the one described above at the first name-giving, but considerably more sumptuous. It is never lacking, whereas the other one is often omitted.

He receives his next name as a warrior, after his return from a campaign in which he has killed or seriously wounded one or more enemies. /58/ In full battle array, but without weapons, the [514] warriors assemble toward evening in their kraal; they squat together, [535] with a large number of young girls standing around, while those of them who are to receive the warrior baptism perform war dances with astonishing endurance, spear and shield in hand. After the new names have been agreed upon and have been called out to the ones concerned, they are celebrated in improvised texts. The names refer to warrior virtues, military events, or even costumes that the ones honored today wore on the last campaign. This festivity is repeated on each of the next four or five days in a neighboring kraal, to which the ones newly named wander with a number of their comrades and a crowd of young girls. Thus the new names quickly become generally known and familiar.

• 551 Names that the mother or father give to their small sons, besides the ones previously mentioned, are the following: Kaiga = the long one who can reach up high; Lesehga, from es segehga! = iron wire; Masaggo, after the like-named area; Ilkilo, after a former chief of this name; Bartello, after the cloud of dust that the cattle stir up while being driven, may the son acquire so many cattle that their cloud of dust is very great; Ol olgumcho = peso, the copper coin com-
[301] monly used in East Africa and worth two pfennigs. For a time it was very popular among the Masai as an ornament and was worn on a small chain or on wire in the upper rim of the ear; Lebelob = thick lip. Names that boys received as principal names at the age of four or five are: Lamawui = the clever one; Kokoyo or Sabug = the fat one; Nanondori = the goat-milk drinker; Aaaija or Nanaaja = darling; Ngaija = given by God; Nasilani, after a tree called silani, whose

/58 cont./

• 551 roots are eaten: Ol eschwaga = the herd owner: Ol oguŋja kitok = big head: 'Lebati, after a like-named area: Saidim = the one who can do everything: 'Lalago = the one who acquires many cattle: 'Lomashra, from ol mashra = the baobab (Adansonia digitata).

As warrior names I found: Kitiata = the brave one: Mapaaja = the seriously wounded one: Johgai = the thin one: Ol gindigi = the joy-bringer: Ol olpuki = the terrible one from whom everyone flees: Marti-ol-ugaru = lion-skin cap: En diladdi = big spear: Sabu-e-naiga = the ornamented one: Magojanaiga = the gaily clothed one: Manchuggo = the fleet-footed one: Pilanaiga = red cloth: Kerianaiga = white and red cloth: Sabenjo = the impetuous one.

553 As a married man, the man is named first of all after his first-born child, son or daughter, for example, menje Saidim or baba Saidim = father of Saidim, menje Lalago or baba Lalago = father of Lalago, but only as long as the child is living. After its death he is named in the same way after the oldest of his living children, and so on. After the death of his father and grandfather, the older man also adopts their names.

/58/ The name that the boy received as a baby he bears only until he is given his principal name. In later life he bears this as well as his name received as a warrior and that of his father. Sometimes the one is more often used, sometimes the other. One must therefore know just about the whole family history of a man in order to know immediately who is meant by a name mentioned in conversation.

553 The Masai are not quite as extravagant, though still always very generous, with the names that a girl and woman bear. At the age of a few months the girl is given her first name by her mother. This name-giving is celebrated in exactly the same way as was described above for that of a boy. Despite the fact that the girl can never acquire livestock herself, the wording of the festival saying for a female infant to be "baptized" is the same and in this case means: may your brothers and your later husband give you much livestock.

/10 cont./

553 As soon as the girl can walk she is given a second name, and, to be sure, by her father. For this a festival just like the preceding one is celebrated in some regions, in others a smaller one, in which only the older women of the kraal take part. On this occasion the girl sits between mother or, if the latter is expecting a child, beside another wife of her father. Only the father calls the girl by this name: all otherpeople and even the mother call her by the first one, which thereafter remains her principal name. More rarely one finds the custom that the girl receives yet a third name during childhood. Where isexist, the mother, as well as the relatives and friends of the girl alls her by the first name, the father by the second one, and caval acquaintances and strangers by the third one. This third namegiving is also celebrated by means of a little festival.

The girl receives the furth name, as a wife, from her husband immediately after her marrge. Only he calls her by it, or in place of it also simply "my wife, e' ñgerejani ai, whereas other people designate her as before or asthe wife of N. After the birth of her first child the woman is named ther it, for example, ñgono Saidin = mother of Saidin. If the child dies, the mother is again named as she was before its birth. Inater life she is always named after her oldest living child or simply Koko, that is, old one.

• 551 The author found as fir names of girls: Lolorurugo (from ol murúgo = the banana, sweet potato): Lailago = the one who can milk well: Siata, this is wht one calls the smacking of lips when drinking milk to express its sriness: Lémét, after a like-named tree: Lendol, after the name of otum-like fruit: Kagos = favorite food: Saigusi, from the word ságsi = the sick: Kidjalo = the nimble one: Sabóga, a word whose meaning is unknown.

/11/ Second names for girls are: Mamái, contraction of mama ai = my mother: Ai gúsi ai = my darling: Lemúgi = the light-skinned one, whose skin has the color of ob coffee with milk: Sadgusi or Sadgusi = the crafty one: simet, after a like-named area: Cemúrgo, named after a tre. Of unknown meaning: Nobita.

/80 cont./

• 551 Third names for girls: Eig or = the sweeper, from a-ay, to sweep: Lerai, Ol ginje, Ndebêl, after like-named trees: Lenchau, from enchau or ekau = to rain through into the house: En goitoi = the way: Betate = the one who fell down (a-betat = to fall: a-dabetate = I have fallen): Mbui, after a similar sounding call with which one calls back the goats and sheep that have strayed from the herd in the pasture: Kamu = the thick-boned one.

[103] Names that women received after their marriage are: Eig arus' ai, that is, the wife who comes from the Arusa area, as the Masai call the Gapo-Aruscha /Great Arusha/ area at Mersberg /Mt. Meru/, where many Masai found refuge in the famine. En gieboro, after a former great warrior named Ol gieboro: similarly formed Ki gieboro from Ol gieboro.

VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Point in time. -- The circumcision years, festivities at the end of them. -- Day of circumcision. -- Operation. -- Feast. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound. -- Circumcision of the girls. -- Point in time. -- Operation. -- Behavior of the circumcised until the healing of the wound.

881 [815] According to the belief of the Masai, circumcision was introduced by a command of God. After circumcision boys and girls are regarded as adults. The former are supposed to be circumcised as soon as they are strong enough for participation in a war expedition, that is, at the age of 12 to 16. Sometimes it is somewhat earlier, if the boy is particularly well developed, somewhat later if the father, lacking any other labor force, cannot spare him in the tending of the small livestock. Circumcision takes place latest for poor sons of poor people or for propertyless orphans. Namely, for the most feasts held by the [422] circumcised youths each one in turn has to provide a head of cattle: he must therefore either own it himself or have a father who will give it to him. If he lacks both, the boy first tries to acquire a small stock [424] of cattle by tending herds for the well-to-do, and until then he remains uncircumcised. Such boys are called ai sieki ? gieku. This word means "herdsman," but signifies that it is a matter of servants who tend the livestock of other people for pay, like the Biblical word "hireling."

/71 cont./

561 576 an díto to ol móruo ñkíí,
an síkíríki to ol móruo ñkíí, or ol móruo. If the latter is almost the same age as her husband,
keiu to ol móruo ol móruo.

[572] Friends often address each other with ol díoro iai or ol jooi = my friend.

Instead of the address term 'a síkíok, an ol barnoti or an ol morÉti says to an an síkíríki whom he has known from childhood 'síkíríki or an síkíríki, whereas an ol móruo in the same case uses the address term nátto. The term of address "a síkíok" for an an síkíríki is more polite than "síkíríki," the latter used toward a stranger an síkíríki would be downright impertinent and rude (1).

1. In places the term an síkíríki also has the meaning "married woman"; thus, at different times I heard a young woman call out coldly to one not entitled to use this designation when he used it: "I am not your an síkíríki."

The obsolete term address an ríngíe, used for 'a síkíok, is often regarded nowadays as effectively polite.

[401] [555] [558] The terms of address required by kinship or livestock-gift take precedence over the above.